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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 08 USBERLIN 02411

VIENNA ALSO FOR CSCE DELEGATION

USVIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: WSB, GE, GC
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT REAGAN'S BERLIN INITIATIVES AND
EUROPEAN SECURITY

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1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT REAGAN'S JUNE 12 BERLIN
SPEECH CAME AT A TIME OF CONSIDERABLE CHANGE IN

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CENTRAL EUROPE. BY DELIVERING A FORWARD LOOKING SPEECH AT THE BRANDENBURG GATE, THE PRESIDENT RENEWED AMERICA'S COMMITMENT TO STAND AT THE FOREFRONT OF THIS PROCESS OF CHANGE. OUR TASK NOW IS TO CAPITALIZE ON THE MOMENTUM GENERATED BY THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT. IF WE ARE SUCCESSFUL, OUR EFFORTS IN BERLIN COULD HAVE A POSITIVE AFFECT ON MUCH BROADER QUESTIONS OF EAST-WEST AND US-GERMAN RELATIONS. HOWEVER, IF WE ALLOW THE MOMENTUM TO DISSIPATE, THE RESULT COULD BE DISAPPOINTMENT AND DISILLUSIONMENT, ESPECIALLY IN GERMANY. OUR TASK NOW IS TO BOTH FOLLOW UP ON THE INITIATIVES IN THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AND TO CREATE A BROADER FRAMEWORK TO SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT'S WORDS. THIS BROADER FRAMEWORK CAN WIDEN THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE AND CAN HELP ENSURE THAT DISAPPOINTMENT DOES NOT ARISE IF ALL INITIATIVES IN THE SPEECH ARE NOT REALIZED IMMEDIATELY. THIS IS AN ACTION MESSAGE WHICH PROVIDES MISSION ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION FOLLOWING THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AND SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR FOLLOW-UP TO THE INITIATIVES. ACTION RECOMMENDATIONS BEGIN IN PARAGRAPH 21. THIS MESSAGE HAS BEEN APPROVED ALSO BY AMBASSADOR BURT. END SUMMARY.

OUTLINE OF A STRATEGY

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3. OUR PROPOSAL IS TO AIM AT THE FACTOR WHICH APPEARS TO BE CAUSING THE MOST UNREST IN GERMANY AT THE MOMENT -- DIVISION AND FEARED ISOLATION OF THE COUNTRY. THIS DOES NOT MEAN PROPOSING A PLAN FOR REUNIFICATION AS SUCH. AS NOTED BELOW, REUNIFICATION IS NOT THE REAL PROBLEM. THE FOCUS WOULD BE BERLIN, BUT THE GOAL WOULD BE TO SEND A BROADER MESSAGE. WE WOULD SEEK TO TRANSMIT A SENSE OF HOPE AND VISION FOR THE FUTURE BASED ON THE MESSAGE OF OPENNESS PRESENTED IN THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH. WE WOULD SUGGEST AMERICAN SPONSORSHIP FOR A DYNAMIC APPROACH WHICH WOULD BE DOCUMENTED THROUGH A VARIETY OF EFFORTS DESCRIBED

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BELOW.

4. WE BELIEVE SUCH A STRATEGY WOULD BE USEFUL IN MEETING OTHER SIGNS OF IMPATIENCE ON BROADER ISSUES SUCH AS ARMS CONTROL. HOWEVER, WE ALSO CONSIDER IT ESSENTIAL THAT THE U.S. FOLLOW THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH WITH CONCRETE STEPS. IF WE DO NOT, LACK OF REALIZATION OF THE HIGH HOPES CREATED BY THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENTS COULD LEAD TO EVEN MORE FRUSTRATION IN BERLIN AND GERMANY. IN OUR VIEW, THE U.S. ROLE IN BERLIN CAN BE USED AS A PLATFORM FOR LAUNCHING SUCH A STRATEGY.

5. TO GAIN MOST BENEFIT FROM THE MOMENTUM CREATED BY THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT, WE SUGGEST SUPPLEMENTING THE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS IN HIS SPEECH WITH TWO OTHER ELEMENTS. TAKEN TOGETHER THIS THREE-PART STRATEGY WOULD INCLUDE: A) A PUBLIC AFFAIRS STRATEGY WHICH STRESSES THE BROAD NATURE OF THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVES IN BERLIN; B) A MORE AMBITIOUS AND SYSTEMATIC EFFORT TO PURSUE IMPROVED IMPLEMENTATION

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OF EXISTING PROVISIONS OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT; AND C) IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INITIATIVES IN THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 08 USBERLIN 02411

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6. BY BROADENING OUR APPROACH IN THIS FASHION, WE
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CAN ACHIEVE TWO GOALS. WE CAN REASSERT U.S. AND ALLIED LEADERSHIP AS SPONSORS OF POSITIVE CHANGE IN BERLIN AND GERMANY. WE CAN ALSO PROVIDE EVIDENCE OF U.S. CONCERN FOR LONGER TERM DEVELOPMENTS IN GERMANY AND CENTRAL EUROPE WHICH COULD HELP MEET SOME OF THE PRESSURES WHICH HAVE RESULTED FROM THE ARMS CONTROL DEBATE IN BONN.

BACKGROUND TO U.S. STRATEGY

7. USBER'S POLICY GOALS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT FOCUSED ON THE SENSE OF IMPATIENCE AND MALAISE WHICH ONE SENSES THROUGHOUT GERMANY, INCLUDING BERLIN. AFTER SEVERAL DECADES OF CONSOLIDATION, MANY GERMANS, ESPECIALLY YOUNGER GERMANS, SEE THEMSELVES FACED INDEFINITELY WITH AN UNSATISFACTORY AND FRUSTRATING SITUATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE WHICH THEY BELIEVE SUBJECTS THEM TO THE WHIMS OF OTHER POWERS. NOT UNDERSTANDING THE HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS OF THEIR SITUATION, MANY GERMANS ARE BEGINNING TO STRIKE OUT BLINDLY AGAINST THE SENSE OF IMPOTENCE BROUGHT ON BY THE SEEMINGLY FROZEN WORLD IN WHICH THEY ARE FORCED TO LIVE.

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8. THAT THIS MALAISE CAN BE POLITICALLY VIRULENT ON THE CONSERVATIVE AS WELL AS LEFT SIDE OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM WAS DEMONSTRATED BY TWO IMPORTANT
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EVENTS DURING THE PAST NINE MONTHS. FIRST CAME HONECKER'S INVITATION TO DIEPGEN AND THE EMOTIONAL DEBATE WHICH FOLLOWED. ALTHOUGH THE EAST DID US A FAVOR BY KILLING THE PROJECT, MUCH HARD FEELING AND RESENTMENT REMAINS AMONG CONSERVATIVE REPEAT CONSERVATIVE BERLINERS, INCLUDING THE MAYOR HIMSELF. THE RESENTMENT STEMS FROM A SENSE OF FRUSTRATION AT NOT BEING ABLE TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THEIR SITUATION. NOT WISHING TO FACE THE FUNDAMENTAL INTRACTABILITY OF THEIR POSITION, THE MAYOR AND HIS ADVISORS ARE BLAMING THE ALLIES FOR THEIR FAILURE.

9. SECOND WAS REACTION AMONG CONSERVATIVE MEMBERS OF THE CDU/CSU TO THE ZERO-ZERO ARMS CONTROL PROPOSAL. INTERESTING HERE WAS THE FACT THAT THIS REACTION WAS NOT LIMITED TO CRITICISM OF DETAILS OF THE PROPOSAL. INSTEAD, OPPONENTS RAISED THE SPECTRE OF U.S. ABANDONMENT OF EUROPE AND LIMITED NUCLEAR WAR IN GERMANY. USING PHRASES SIMILAR TO THOSE ADOPTED BY THE PEACE MOVEMENT FIVE YEARS AGO, THEY VIRTUALLY THREATENED TO FOLLOW A NEUTRALIST COURSE IF THE ZERO-ZERO PROPOSAL WERE ADOPTED.

10. THESE REACTIONS PROVIDED INSIGHTS INTO THE UNDERLYING EFFECTS OF THE DIVISION OF GERMANY AND EUROPE ON FUTURE GERMAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR. THEY ALSO GAVE CLUES WHICH COULD BE USEFUL IN ADJUSTING OUR OWN APPROACH TO A RAPIDLY CHANGING SITUATION IN GERMANY.

11. FROM OUR VANTAGE POINT, THE EMOTIONS OF RECENT MONTHS SEEM TO DEMONSTRATE THAT TO MOST GERMANS, ESPECIALLY THE YOUNGER GENERATION, THE "GERMAN QUESTION" IS NOT PRIMARILY AN ISSUE OF POLITICAL REUNIFICATION. RATHER, THE DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR CITIZENS OF EITHER GERMAN
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STATE TO DEVELOP A SENSE OF COMPLETENESS AND
SOVEREIGNTY NECESSARY FOR HEALTHY NATIONAL
EXISTENCE. RATHER THAN FOCUSING ON TODAY'S PROBLEMS
AND THEIR OWN RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEALING WITH THEM,

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 08 USBERLIN 02411

VIENNA ALSO FOR CSCE DELEGATION

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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SUBJECT: PRESIDENT REAGAN'S BERLIN INITIATIVES AND

TOO MANY GERMANS ARE SEDUCED INTO BELIEVING THAT
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"THINGS" WOULD BE MUCH BETTER IF ONLY THEIR NATIONAL
DIVISION COULD BE OVERCOME. RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS
DIVISION IS PLACED IN THE HANDS OF OTHERS, PRIMARILY
THE DISTANT AND VAGUELY MALEVOLENT "SUPER POWERS."

12. SUCH MALAISE CAN BURDEN GERMAN POLITICAL

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BEHAVIOR ON A VARIETY OF QUESTIONS. ARMS CONTROL AND DEFENSE POLICY WILL CONTINUE TO BE A MAJOR FOCUS. A NATION NOT SURE OF ITS OWN WILL TO EXIST REACTS ESPECIALLY STRONGLY IF ITS BASIC SECURITY SEEMS TO BE ENDANGERED. THE FIRST REACTIONS CAME FROM THE LEFT AND FROM YOUNG PEOPLE DURING THE INF DEBATE. THE RIGHT HAS NOW CAUGHT UP. REACTION TO THE ZERO-ZERO PROPOSAL DEMONSTRATED THAT GERMAN SENSITIVITY ON SECURITY ISSUES IS NOT A PARTISAN ISSUE. WE SHOULD BE AS CONCERNED ABOUT TRENDS IN THE CDU/CSU AS WE ARE IN THE SPD, FOR THEY ARE EACH BASED ON THE SAME SENSE OF ISOLATION AND INSECURITY. AS GERMANY'S ULTIMATE GUARANTOR, THE U.S. CAN EXPECT CONTINUED DEMANDS FOR MILITARY SECURITY SOLUTIONS WHICH MAY SEEM ILLOGICAL IF VIEWED ONLY FROM A MILITARY STANDPOINT. GERMAN THINKING CAN BE UNDERSTOOD ONLY IF VIEWED AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE MALAISE WHICH RESULTS FROM THIS SEEMINGLY FROZEN POSITION IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

13. EQUALLY DIFFICULT WILL BE QUESTIONS RELATED TO THE DIVISION OF EUROPE AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS. IN A WORLD FROZEN BY "SUPER POWER CONFLICT," THOSE WHO BELIEVE THEY ARE CAUGHT IN THE CONFLICT ARE OFTEN IN DANGER OF LOSING THEIR ABILITY TO UNDERSTAND THE UNDERLYING REASONS FOR THE FIGHT. MOST GERMANS HAVE ALREADY FORGOTTEN (OR DON'T WISH TO REMEMBER) THAT THEY STARTED THE WHOLE THING IN THE FIRST PLACE. THE
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NEXT GENERATION IS ALSO FINDING IT INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND WHY IDEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS SHOULD BE SO IMPORTANT. THE NARCISSISM AND EGOTISM WHICH COME FROM BEING THE FOCUS OF THE DIVISION ALSO UNDERMINE SOLIDARITY WITH OTHERS WHO SUFFERED FROM PAST GERMAN BEHAVIOR, I.E., THE NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE.

14. OUR CONCLUSION IS THAT AS THE LEADING WESTERN POWER IN EUROPE, IT IS STRONGLY IN AMERICAN INTEREST TO TAKE THE LEAD IN DIVISING A POLITICAL APPROACH TO THE INCREASING DRIFT IN GERMANY. THIS TASK IS PERHAPS ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT, BECAUSE TWO OTHER MAJOR FACTORS ARE DAMAGING WESTERN COHESIVENESS AND U.S. INTERESTS IN EUROPE. THEY ARE THE ATTRACTION OF THE APPARENTLY NEW IDEAS EMANATING FROM GORBACHEV IN THE EAST AND THE LACK OF NEW IDEAS AND VISION OF THE

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KOHL ADMINISTRATION IN BONN.

15. WITHOUT A STRONG POLITICAL COMPONENT FROM THE U.S., THESE TWO CONFLICTING TRENDS COULD CAUSE DETERIORATION OF WESTERN CREDIBILITY AND FLEXIBILITY IN GERMANY IN YEARS TO COME. GIVEN THE SENSE OF FRUSTRATION EVIDENT IN GERMANY, MANY PEOPLE WILL BE WILLING TO FOLLOW THE FIRST FRESH IDEA THEY CAN FIND. IN THE ABSENCE OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP FROM THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT, WEST GERMANS WILL ORIENT THEMSELVES TO THE FIRST NEW HOPE WHICH COMES THEIR WAY. TODAY, THAT HOPE SEEMS TO BE COMING FROM THE EAST.

LESSONS FOR U.S. STRATEGY

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16. REACTION TO THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AND VISIT

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DEMONSTRATES THAT A STRONG U.S. MESSAGE CAN AFFECT
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THE SITUATION DESCRIBED ABOVE. INITIAL BERLIN AND FRG REACTIONS TO THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH WERE OVERWHELMINGLY POSITIVE; MANY FOCUSED ON THE PROPOSALS FOR MEETINGS AND THE OLYMPICS. CHANCELLOR KOHL HAS POINTED TO THE AIR INITIATIVE AS PROVIDING A POSSIBLE MAJOR STEP FORWARD FOR THE CITY. MANY BERLINERS HAVE COMMENTED TO MISSION OFFICERS ABOUT THE IMPORTANT SYMBOLISM OF THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AT THE BRANDENBURG GATE. THERE IS NOW AN ATMOSPHERE OF EXPECTATION ABOUT FURTHER U.S. STEPS TO GIVE SUBSTANCE TO THE PRESIDENT'S WORDS.

17. FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE, THE SPEECH HAS ALREADY ACCOMPLISHED ONE OF THE MAJOR POLICY GOALS DESCRIBED ABOVE. THE PRESIDENT'S STRONG STATEMENTS MADE CLEAR THAT NEW IDEAS CAN BE EXPECTED FROM THE WEST AS WELL AS FROM THE EAST. HIS INITIATIVES ADDED SUBSTANCE TO HIS WORDS. IN BERLIN ESPECIALLY, WE HAVE CREATED A SENSE OF U.S. COMMITMENT TO MOVEMENT ON PAINFUL QUESTIONS CREATED BY THE DIVISION OF THE CITY.

18. AS LONG AS AMERICAN SPONSORSHIP APPEARS SOLID AND FORWARD LOOKING -- AS LONG AS AMERICA SEEMS TO BE TAKING GERMANY IN A POSITIVE DIRECTION -- THE GERMAN BODY POLITIC WILL PROBABLY REMAIN IN EQUILIBRIUM ON NATIONAL ISSUES. IF THIS SPONSORSHIP SEEMS TO BE WEAKENING OR SEEMS TO BE "WRONG" FROM A GERMAN POINT OF VIEW, THE IMMEDIATE REACTION IS TO SEEK NEW AVENUES FOR DEALING WITH THE MALAISE CREATED BY DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY.

19. BY ESTABLISHING THE DYNAMIC GOALS OF THE

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AMERICAN APPROACH TO GERMANY, WE CAN HELP REDUCE SOME OF THE DISTRUST WHICH HAS RESULTED FROM THE MALAISE NOW AFFLICTING THE COUNTRY. AS NOTED ABOVE, SUCH DISTRUST IS ENDEMIC IN THE FRUSTRATION AND IMPATIENCE GENERATED BY DIVISION. IT CAN NEVER BE REMOVED COMPLETELY, BUT IT CAN BE AMELIORATED THROUGH CAREFUL ENUNCIATION OF AN ACCOMPANYING POLITICAL STRATEGY FOR GERMANY. THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH DESCRIBES SUCH A STRATEGY. AS SUCH IT CAN HELP RESTORE A SENSE OF AMERICAN SPONSORSHIP FOR GERMANY'S ILL-DEFINED BUT DEEPLY FELT LONGER TERM GOALS.

NEXT STEPS

20. OUR BIGGEST TASK NOW IS TO CAPITALIZE ON THE MOMENTUM CREATED BY THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH TO SET FORTH A BROAD FRAMEWORK FOR OUR EFFORTS. SINCE THE BERLIN INITIATIVES CANNOT BE REALIZED IN A SHORT TIME, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT'S WORDS WITH OTHER ELEMENTS WHICH ADD SUBSTANCE TO OUR EFFORTS. OTHERWISE, BERLINERS COULD SOON BECOME DISSATISFIED WITH THE LACK OF CONCRETE FOLLOW-UP. BROADENING THE FRAMEWORK WILL ALSO HELP EXTEND THE MOMENTUM TO OTHER ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONS WITH THE FRG.

21. OUR SUGGESTION IS CONSTRUCT THIS FRAMEWORK FROM THREE MAJOR ELEMENTS: A) A PUBLIC AFFAIRS STRATEGY; B) A MORE SYSTEMATIC APPROACH TO IMPLEMENTATION OF EXISTING ARRANGEMENTS FOR BERLIN AND INNER-GERMAN
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RELATIONS; AND C) IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SPECIFIC

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INITIATIVES IN THE PRESIDENT'S JUNE 12 SPEECH.

22. WE SHOULD SEE THESE ELEMENTS FITTING TOGETHER AS

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. A. PUBLIC AFFAIRS: AS MISSION HAS REPORTED,
THE INITIAL IMPACT OF THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH HAS BEEN
FOLLOWED BY DISCUSSION ABOUT ITS TRUE MEANING.
SKEPTICS HAVE WELCOMED THE STRONG WORDS BUT ARGUED
THAT LITTLE CONCRETE ACTION WILL FOLLOW. WHILE
SPECIFIC STEPS ARE NECESSARY, IT IS USUALLY POSSIBLE
TO HEIGHTEN THE IMPACT OF IDEAS IN GERMANY IF THEY

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ARE PACKAGED IN AN OVERALL CONCEPT. WE BELIEVE THAT REGULAR REPETITION OF THE PRESIDENT'S "VISION" FOR CENTRAL EUROPE CAN HELP ESTABLISH THIS CONCEPT.

MISSION WOULD SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING FRAMEWORK:

-- PRESIDENT REAGAN CAME TO BERLIN TO PRESENT A VISION FOR THE FUTURE OF GERMANY AND EUROPE. HIS VISION WAS NOT AN AMERICAN RECIPE FOR FUTURE STEPS, BUT RATHER A DESCRIPTION OF THE IDEALS WHICH HE BELIEVED WOULD HELP THE WEST OVERCOME THE PAINFUL DIVISION OF THE CONTINENT.

-- HIS VISION WAS BASED ON TWO PRINCIPLES -- A) THAT TIME IS WORKING FOR THE WEST. OUR IDEALS OF FREEDOM AND OPENNESS HAVE PROVEN TO BE THE BEST HOPE FOR MANKIND. IF WE WORK TOGETHER ON THIS FOUNDATION, SUCCESS IS POSSIBLE; AND B) THAT PROGRESS CANNOT BE MADE IN EUROPE WITHOUT FOCUSING ON THE SITUATION IN BERLIN.

-- THE PRESIDENT SOUGHT TO ENUNCIATE SEVERAL STEPS WHICH HE BELIEVED WOULD HELP GIVE IMPETUS TO PROGRESS IN BERLIN. DRAWING ON THE EXPERIENCE OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT, HE SUGGESTED TO CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV THAT A FIRST SIGNAL OF READINESS TO REDUCE

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TENSIONS WOULD BE TO MOVE FORWARD IN BERLIN.

-- THE PRESIDENT REAFFIRMED THE LONG-TERM AMERICAN GOAL IN BERLIN AND GERMANY -- THE WALL MUST COME DOWN AND GERMANY MUST BE REUNIFIED. HE ALSO SET FORTH SEVERAL IDEAS WHICH COULD BE IMPLEMENTED MORE RAPIDLY TO HELP MAKE PROGRESS OF INTEREST TO BOTH SIDES.

-- HIS MESSAGE WAS ONE OF OPENNESS AND COOPERATION. IT WAS BASED ON THE FIRM BELIEF IN OUR OWN IDEALS. BUT IT ALSO OFFERED CONCRETE COOPERATION IN BERLIN AND THROUGHOUT EUROPE IF THE OTHER SIDE DEMONSTRATED EQUAL GOOD WILL.

. B. EXISTING IMPLEMENTATION: AS WE HAVE SUGGESTED IN OTHER REPORTING, CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS COULD BE MADE IN BERLIN IF EXISTING AGREEMENTS WERE IMPLEMENTED MORE CAREFULLY. OUR VIEWS ON THE STATUS OF THE CITY COULD ALSO BE DEFENDED MORE VIGOROUSLY.

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SUCH AN APPROACH HAS ALREADY BEEN MENTIONED BY MAYOR DIEPGEN AS A FOLLOW-UP TO THE INVITATION AFFAIR. MISSION BELIEVES THAT AN ENERGETIC, SYSTEMATIC APPROACH TO IMPLEMENTATION BY THE ALLIES COULD HELP REDUCE DIEPGEN'S IMPATIENCE AND COULD GIVE AN ADDED SENSE OF DYNAMISM TO THE WESTERN POSITION ON BERLIN AND GERMANY.

. DETAILS OF SUCH AN EFFORT MUST BE WORKED OUT CAREFULLY WITH OUR ALLIES. POSSIBLE ELEMENTS WOULD INCLUDE:

-- MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES: THIS COINCIDES WITH ONE OF THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVES. SINCE SUCH CONFERENCES ARE ALREADY COVERED BY THE QA, WE WOULD NOT WISH TO COMMENCE NEW NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS ISSUE. BEST WAY TO PROCEED WOULD BE TO WORK MORE CAREFULLY

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VIENNA ALSO FOR CSCE DELEGATION

USVIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: WSB, GE, GC

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT REAGAN'S BERLIN INITIATIVES AND

WITH THE GERMAN SIDE TO IDENTIFY THE TYPES OF
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MEETINGS WHICH COULD BE HELD IN BERLIN. THIS SHOULD BE FOLLOWED BY A COORDINATED STRATEGY IN THE UN AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL BODIES. THE WEST SHOULD BE PREPARED TO USE DIPLOMATIC AND OTHER LEVERAGE IF NECESSARY. OUR GOAL SHOULD BE TO OBTAIN ONE OR MORE MAJOR CONFERENCES EACH YEAR.

THE U.S. COULD MAKE A DIRECT CONTRIBUTION BY WORKING WITH THE SOVIETS TO ORGANIZE A MAJOR BILATERAL DISCUSSION IN BOTH PARTS OF BERLIN.

-- FRG PASSPORTS: A MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE QA WAS ACCEPTANCE BY THE EAST OF WEST GERMAN PASSPORTS FOR TRAVEL BY WEST BERLINERS. THROUGH STUBBORNNESS IN REJECTING FRG PASSPORTS, THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DISCOURAGE MOST WEST BERLINERS FROM USING THEM. DESPITE THIS SITUATION, NEITHER THE SENAT NOR THE FRG HAVE TRIED HARD TO MAINTAIN THEIR USE. THIS IS A POINT WHERE WE CAN CRITICIZE THE GERMANS FOR LESS THAN ENERGETIC DEFENSE OF AN IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD WHICH THE ALLIES NEGOTIATED FOR THEM. IT IS ALSO A GOOD DEBATING POINT WITH THE SOVIETS.

-- VISITS AND TRAVEL: THE SENAT WISHES SEVERAL IMPROVEMENTS IN TRAVEL POSSIBILITIES FOR WEST BERLINERS. AGAIN, THIS IS AN AREA WHERE BONN HAS BEEN ONLY LUKEWARM IN SUPPORTING BERLIN'S INTERESTS. STRONGER SUPPORT BY THE ALLIES WOULD DEMONSTRATE OUR DEDICATION TO BERLIN AND MAKE CLEAR THAT BONN MUST ALSO DO MORE.

-- STATUS OF EAST BERLIN: AS THE INVITATION ISSUE DEVELOPED, MANY BERLINERS COMMENTED ON THE PRO FORMA
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NATURE OF WESTERN PROTESTS OF EAST GERMAN VIOLATIONS OF THE STATUS OF EAST BERLIN. WHILE WE ARE REALISTIC ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES FOR INFLUENCING GDR OR SOVIET BEHAVIOR, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO RECORD OUR VIEWS MORE FORCEFULLY FROM TIME TO TIME WITH THE SOVIETS.

. AS STATED, THE ABOVE POINTS ARE EXAMPLES OF SEVERAL STEPS WHICH COULD BE TAKEN. MOST IMPORTANT WILL BE CONSISTENCY IN OUR APPROACH. FOLLOWING UP ON THESE POINTS SHOULD BE A MAJOR ELEMENT OF ALLIED AND GERMAN BERLIN POLICY IN MONTHS TO COME.

. C. PRESIDENTIAL INITIATIVES: A MAJOR QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCE IN THESE GOALS ENTAILS IN TURN A DIFFERENT APPROACH TO PURSUING THEM. THE KEY GOAL -- BY FAR THE MOST DIFFICULT -- CONCERNS IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CIVIL AIR REGIME. BERLINERS ARE STARTING TO FOCUS ON THIS POINT: E.G., BOELKE'S EDITORIAL IN THE SUNDAY EDITION OF THE TAGESSPIEGEL. THE AIR REGIME CAN ONLY BE ADDRESSED IN A QUADRIPARTITE SETTING.

. THE OTHER GOALS IN THE SPEECH ARE NOT/NOT QUADRIPARTITE IN NATURE. MOREOVER, THE FRG, AS INDICATED IN REYKJAVIK LAST MONTH, VIEWS EXCHANGES AND VISITS AS PRIMARILY RELEVANT TO ITS FIELD OF INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS. WE RECOMMEND THAT THE WESTERN ALLIES ADDRESS SUCH ISSUES SINGLY OR BILATERALLY, RATHER THAN IN A FOUR-POWER CHANNEL. THIS APPROACH HOLDS OPEN THE PROSPECT OF ACHIEVING REAL PROGRESS ON SOME BERLIN INITIATIVES OUTSIDE THE FRAMEWORK OF EVENTUAL QUADRIPARTITE NEGOTIATIONS, WHILE AVOIDING AN UNDUE BURDEN ON FOUR-POWER EFFORTS THAT SHOULD FOCUS PRIMARILY ON CIVIL AIR MATTERS.

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-- FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW, MAJOR FOLLOW-UP WORK ON
THE PRESIDENT'S AIR INITIATIVE SHOULD BE DONE BY THE
BONN GROUP. WE SHOULD NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT MAYOR
DIEPGEN AND HIS STAFF ARE NOT ON THE BEST TERMS WITH
THE FOREIGN OFFICE OR THE CHANCELLERY AND THAT SOME
PROBLEMS OF COMMUNICATION ARE LIKELY TO ARISE AS THE

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BONN GROUP BEGINS ITS WORK.

SPORTS EXCHANGE

-- THIS PROPOSAL HAS CAPTURED THE IMAGINATION OF BERLINERS AND MANY OTHER GERMANS. ITS IMPLEMENTATION REQUIRES A MAJOR CAMPAIGN BY THE THREE ALLIES AND THE FRG WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE NATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEES. NOTHING CAN BE DONE WITHOUT THE FULL SUPPORT OF THOSE COMMITTEES. IN THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE THE FRG SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD, WITH STRONG SUPPORT FROM THE ALLIES. THE ALLIED PUBLIC AFFAIRS CAMPAIGN SHOULD MOBILIZE AND ORCHESTRATE STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT FROM ATHLETIC FEDERATIONS SUCH AS THE NCAA AND PRIVATE CITIZENS AS WELL.

-- BERLIN SENATOR HANNA-RENATA LAURIEN HAS ALREADY SPOKEN WITH WILLIE DAUME, PRESIDENT OF THE GERMAN
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OLYMPIC COMMITTEE, ON THIS PROPOSAL. DAUME EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO MAKE A MAJOR EFFORT, AND TO MEET WITH THE THREE ALLIES ON HIS NEXT VISIT TO BERLIN.

INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS

-- THIS ISSUE WAS DISCUSSED IN DETAIL ABOVE. A MODEL FOR OUR CONCERTED STRATEGY IS THE IMF/WORLD BANK GENERAL MEETING IN 1988 WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE ONLY IN WEST BERLIN.

WE PROPOSE THAT THE WEST SURVEY THE MAIN ORGANIZATIONS WITH EAST/WEST MEMBERSHIP THAT SPONSOR MEETINGS IN EUROPE. THESE INCLUDE AT THE GOVERNMENTAL LEVEL: CSCE, IPU, SOME UN SPECIALIZED AGENCIES, ECE, IAEA, IEA, COUNCIL OF EUROPE, AND EUROPEAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL LEVEL INCLUDES: CHURCH GROUPS, LABOR GROUPS, RED CROSS, BOY SCOUTS, AND NUMEROUS NGO'S. IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE, BUT NOT/NOT

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ESSENTIAL, THAT THE USG BELONG TO THE ORGANIZATION.
IN THIS AREA THE UK AND FRANCE COULD BE MOST USEFUL
IN DEFINING CHOICES THAT HAVE A PROSPECT OF GETTING
SUPPORT FROM THE GDR AND THE SENAT.

YOUTH AFFAIRS

-- THE GERMANS SEE THIS AREA AS THEIR
RESPONSIBILITY. THE ALLIES, IN OUR VIEW, SHOULD
PROVIDE MAINLY RHETORICAL SUPPORT. THE USG HAS NO/NO
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NEW MONEY FOR THIS SORT OF ACTIVITY -- A FACT THAT
FURTHER LIMITS OUR INFLUENCE.

-- POTENTIAL SPONSORS FOR MORE ACTIVISM ON BERLIN
YOUTH EXCHANGES COULD BE OFFICIAL YOUTH GROUPS (E.G.,
THE RING POLITISCHER JUGEND ON THE WESTERN SIDE, THE
FREIE DEUTSCHE JUGEND ON THE EASTERN SIDE), CHURCH
GROUPS, AND PRIVATE GROUPS SUCH AS SCOUTS, GYMNASTS,

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CHOIRS. THE ALLIES MIGHT OPT TO TRY, IN CONCERT WITH
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THE SENAT, TO CONDUCT SUCH EXCHANGES ON A
DISTRICT-TO-DISTRICT BASIS, BUT THE GDR IS UNLIKELY
TO PLAY THAT GAME.

-- AN IMPORTANT SYMBOLIC STEP WOULD BE A USG
FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION TO ONE OF THE EXCHANGE
ORGANIZATIONS IN BERLIN. WE MIGHT ALSO APPROACH U.S.
FOUNDATIONS SUCH AS THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND AND THE
FORD FOUNDATION FOR SUPPORT.

23. COMMENT: THE ABOVE OUTLINE PRESENTS A BLUEPRINT
FOR A LONG TERM STRATEGY. IT CAN SUCCEED ONLY IF THE
ACTIONS AND THE RHETORIC BECOME A STAPLE OF AMERICAN
STATEMENTS IN GERMANY AND EUROPE OVER THE NEXT YEAR.
WE WOULD RECOMMEND FOLLOWING UP WITH A COMPREHENSIVE
BRIEFING AT NATO. HIGH LEVEL VISITS TO EUROPE COULD
ALSO BE USED TO ESTABLISH THE MESSAGE. MOST
IMPORTANT FROM OUR VIEWPOINT IS TO ESTABLISH AN
AMERICAN MESSAGE WHICH COMPETES WITH THE "NEW" IMAGE
NOW EMANATING FROM MOSCOW. THAT CHANGE WILL COME IN
THE FUTURE IS VIRUTALLY CERTAIN. THE AMERICAN TASK
NOW IS TO SEIZE THE HIGH GROUND, OCCUPY THE HOPES AND
DREAMS FOR THE FUTURE AND MAKE CLEAR THAT THEY WILL
BE ACHIEVED ONLY THROUGH CLOSEST COOPERATION AMONG
THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES. IF WE DO NOT SUCCEED, THE
SENSE OF NEWNESS AND MOVEMENT CREATED BY GORBACHEV
COULD SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE WESTERN UNITY AND
EFFICIENCY IN YEARS TO COME. END COMMENT.

24. MOSCOW MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
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